1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, [578] refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, 597 since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as 621 united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. [727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

alas! alas! (9). Dordillon gives the word *toakaihau* as meaning the cry uttered by women during combat; and *tomoa*, a cry of encouragement by women. The inspirational priest sometimes went with the warriors and stood on a high point from which he could watch the combat, uttering a spell to cause the missiles of the enemy to go into the earth rather than into his people (9). It is said that the ceremonial priest remained at the temple chanting. Porter (24, p. 88) describes one method of showing derision of the enemy: "They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision." Other methods of showing derision consisted in sticking out the tongue, and holding down the under margin of the right eye with the forefinger. Porter (24, pp. 86, 89) describes their manner of fighting as follows:

> Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, etc., etc., advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war clubs, and carried off in triumph. It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

Porter also describes the raiding of enemy parties into valleys, destroying houses and plantations and killing breadfruit trees by girdling. As soon as a victim was obtained, the raiding party would retire from the field. In prolonged wars the warriors returned every evening to their sleeping and eating houses, resuming the combat next morning. It is impossible to tell how sustained and how bloody were wars in the ancient days. Hiva Oa informants insist that there was one great war in which all the eastern end of the island fought all the western end, all the warriors of the former being slain. It seems very doubtful whether there were any engagements of a very serious nature, since to the native fighting was entirely a matter of individual personal combat, quick assault, and quick flight or pursuit. There appears never to have been any genuine organization of fighting men.

The first victim slain in battle was always slung on a pole, like a pig, between two men and carried home to be offered to the tribal god. The body was carried to the temple and presented to the priest, who placed it on the altar (*ka'au*) and left it there (9).

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Porter (24, pp. 88-89) describes plundering by his victorious allies:

> The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household untensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them.

Stealing the enemies' images was the custom with victorious parties. Unless the attack was very sudden it is probable that none of the personal property of a people would be secured by the victors, with the exception of the ornaments worn by slain warriors, for the women of the defeated warriors used to pack up in small bundles all the portable wealth and carry it away with them.

When the warriors of a tribe were completely defeated, the whole tribe took flight from their valley. There were no sacred places of refuge in the Marquesas. Sometimes a defeated people would be able to come back into their devastated valley, but sometimes it was held by the conqueror, and the refugees had to find homes elsewhere in a deserted region or among friendly tribes. A victorious chief would sometimes be clement and allow the defeated tribe to stay in their valley. Before a battle women, children and old men either took refuge in a place of refuge or in the mountains or held themselves in readiness for flight in their valley. It is said that old men and women were often left, and were massacred and eaten by the victors (14, pp. 85-86). Frequently tribes that expected attack and the consequent necessity of flight had canoes built and held in readiness for escape by sea. Defeated people were called on Hiva Oa *po'i hina* (*po'i*, people; *hina*, overthrown) and on Nuku Hiva *moehu*. Refugees might be absorbed by the victorious tribe but they were never made slaves or vassals. Dordillion gives *tapu hao fenua* as the name of a festival after the defeat of a war party (9).

CAPTIVES OF WAR

From the manuscript of Dordillon come the following notes regarding the war ceremonial. When a victim was captured in battle, he was brought to the dance area and presented to the ceremonial priest who was wearing a coconut leaf headdress. The warriors stood around, and, led by the priest, they cried, *"Ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka, ka-ki-ka."* The god then entered into his priest and cried through his mouth *"A u u u u-a! Au u u u-a! Mai te mata! Mai te mata!"* (Enter in! Enter in! Bring the eyes! Bring the eyes!) The old men singers forming the chorus assisting at the rite, cried, *"Aua!"* three times. (It is evident that the scene of activity was then transferred to the temple attached to the

I: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

feast place.) *Ka'aku* was then put in the mouth of the inspirational priest with the back of the hand, also pork and fish, which he ate—this was the feeding of the god through his priest. When the war was over, the tribal god would say through his priest, "Celebrate a festival in my honor." A house of the same form as the dwelling was made at the feast place. *Popoi* was prepared, fish in baskets, pig, and so on. The ceremonial priest cried out an invitation to the feast, naming the victuals. The pigs were then divided among the different allies. On the next day the feast was opened by the ceremonial priest, who shouted the announcement that all was ready. After the feast there was dancing to the beating of drums and then all the people went home.

TAPU GOVERNING WARRIORS

It has already been said that any association with women during war was forbidden to warriors. Père Siméon (7) states also that *kava* drinking was forbidden. If a man quarreled with his mother before going into battle, he would surely be slain. After a man had made a killing, either in war or otherwise, he was *tapu* for ten days (18, p. 133). During this time he could not cook for himself and he had to be served by another. Like a warrior, a gun or spear which had killed a man was *tapu* for ten days; and such a weapon was given the name of its victim (9).

TAPU GOVERNING WOMEN IN WARTIME

There were a number of *tapu* that applied to women during wartime. They were not allowed to let down their hair, nor to light a fire, nor to eat; they could not associate with their warrior husbands after war until the men had been purified; and while active fighting was going on, they could not sleep in the sleeping house but must sleep in the dance area *(tohua)* (9). Women were allowed to eat with their husbands on the morning preceding the combat. According to one informant, the women were obliged to fast until the return of the warriors. Women could prevent war by uttering a curse on the road over which the warriors would have to pass—"The road leading to battle is my *pudendum.*" If warriors passed over the road that had been thus named by a woman, it was believed that they would surely be massacred (9).

After returning from war, warriors were not allowed to eat with the women until their *tapu* (sacredness) had been removed by bathing in the sea—only after the warriors had thus been freed, were their wives allowed to let down their hair. After a victory, heads of conquered enemies were paraded in the valley of the victors (9 and 4). Dordillon gives *va'a'ani*

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Treatment of Captives Taken in Raids

●727 Captives who were taken alive to the tribal feast place to be sacrificed were called *tinaka*. Those destined for the tribal god were taken into the temple, where they were killed and sacrificed with the reciting of the chant called *haihai heana;* the body was suspended in a coconut tree, left there for three days, then cut up and buried in the ground (9). (See Human Sacrifice). The heads of all victims were presented to the tribal god, were consecrated in the temple, and were then returned to the captor, the eyes, however, being given to the chief. Those victims that were [266] destined to be eaten were killed on the feast place and there cut up and distributed. *Hanoa* meant to attach a victim to a pole in order to carry him (8). *Ta ika (ta,* strike; *ika,* fish) was a term applied to those who went to search for human sacrifices, and the words *tau ta ika* meant to go in search of human victims. An enemy was called *ika, fish.* Naked captives and dead bodies were brought back slung on a pole between two men. *Hauiui* was the god who presided over the carrying of human victims on the shoulder pole *(amo.)* Those who carried the body to the feast places were covered with coconut leaves shredded into small strips, indicating that they were *tapu.* Before carrying the body into the feast place, they went to the temple, and, taking a pig that had been fed by the attendants of the sacred precincts, they dismembered it alive and ate it while the flesh was raw and bloody. They had to eat standing (4).

Torture of Captives

Victims that were obtained definitely to revenge the death of a tribesman were treated with far greater cruelty than those who were merely war captives or sacrifices demanded by the gods. Such revenge victims were subjected to extreme torture, which appears to have been the expression of a frenzy of revengeful hate resulting from extreme concentration upon the thought of vengeance. Langsdorff (18, p. 150) describes the tearing open of a victim's skull on the field of battle and the eating of his brains on the spot. Krusenstern (16, p. 180) was told that warriors tore off the heads of their victims and sipped the blood.

The manuscript of Père Pierre (4) gives a number of terms describing various modes of treatment of captives and victims for sacrifice and eating. *Heaka tutu pohue una* meant to burn the victim alive; *kopu kiki* or *kopu epo tikao me te poo kenae,* was applied to the pulling out of the entrails of living victims by inserting in the orifice of the anus sticks of thorny *kenae* (flamboyant); *heaka hi* (*hi,* to fish with a line,) is described as consisting in attaching a victim to a hook, throwing his body into the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

water, drawing it out, throwing it back in again, and so on, until the victim expired. In the rite called *vai titi* a live victim was attached to four posts by his limbs and roasted over a fire on the sea-shore (9). One of the most cruel of the tortures consisted in roasting a live victim by slow degrees, burying him in the sand on the shore and building fires around him. *Heaka tao* meant to roast a foe in an oven; *heaka te'i,* to dismember a victim; and *heaka makoke,* to parcel out his flesh. The body was cut up with a bamboo knife or a sharp stone. Taava and Taavi were the patron gods of all these practices associated with human sacrifice (4). Victims were sometimes suspended alive on a hook attached to the chin, the lips, or the nostrils.

[727]

CAPTIVES AS WAR PRIZES

The bones and certain other parts of revenge victims not offered to the tribal gods were regarded as the prizes of the victim's captors. The warrior who brought home a victim for sacrifice or part of one was thereafter called by the name of his victim. The *pudendum* of a woman was sometimes atached to a lock of a victorious warrior's hair and was worn as a sign of his prowess (4). Fingers were saved and worn on the loin cloth of the captor. Other long bones were used in making ornaments, fan handles, hair and drum cord binders, and fish hooks. But the most important of the prizes was the head. The skull and the name of a foe went to the man who killed him. This and other relics such as hands, for example, were consecrated and dried by the priest in the temple by means of some rite of which I have no account, and were then returned to the victor. When warriors went into battle they wore these prizes on the loin cloth, on the ankle, or hanging down on the back by a cord from the neck. Langsdorff (18, pp. 149-50) describes such ornaments of the warrior as being decorated with hog's bristles, and having the underjaw fastened to it ingeniously with coconut fibers, and Marchand (22, p. 116) tells us that warriors sometimes wore three of these trophies at one time. In peace times these prizes were hung up in the houses or wrapped in cloth and secreted. The following is Melville's description (23, p. 265) of skulls that he saw:

[551]

[714]

> The skull was in a state of perfect preservation, and from the slight glimpse I had of it, seemed to have been subjected to some smoking operation which had reduced it to the dry, hard, and mummy-like appearance it presented. The two long scalp-locks were twisted up into balls upon the crown of the head in the same way that the individual had worn them during life. The sunken cheeks were rendered yet more ghastly by the rows of glistening teeth which protruded from between the lips, while the sockets of the eyes—filled with oval bits of mother-of-pearl shell, with a black spot in the centre—heightened the hideousness of its aspect.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 [302] *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was customary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648
726

About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place untill they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not untill our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

648
727

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648
727

drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

648

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased.

192

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it*

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,— good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane. Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs, since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way. 1804. May.

The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, besmear themselves like the men. 1804. May.

The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, however, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. the heads of their vanquished enemies, without the idea occurring to them of eating their flesh.

The Marquesans carry on war both by sea and land. Their arms consist of heavy clubs, spears, and an instrument in the form of a small oar. The clubs are four feet nine inches long, with a broad and flat upper end, which is generally carved with different figures. The length of the oar is six feet, and the spears are from eleven to thirteen feet. Besides these formidable weapons, the islanders are expert in throwing stones from slings made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Though not deficient in courage, they never fight openly. They are very much afraid of fire-arms, the destructive power of which they learned some time since from an American ship, from which a shot was fired that killed one of the royal family, whilst he was swimming about with a great many others of his countrymen. The circumstance was this: One of the islanders threw a bread-fruit on board, which struck the captain, who was walking on the quarter-deck. The sentinel, seeing this, instantly discharged his musket, and, missing the guilty person, unfortunately shot a brother of the king. This has produced such an effect, that the sight alone of fire-arms is sufficient to keep the whole island in awe.

The simplicity of this people is astonishing. Their actions seem the result of instinct, rather than of common sense; which makes them often commit faults, ruinous even to themselves. Theft is so common amongst them, that hardly any thing is safe in their houses, especially in time of scarcity. Roberts assured me, that the island would abound with swine, if the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each band being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The longitudinal strips covering the outside seams of the canoe were painted black and ornamented at each lashing by tufts of white feathers of the *tevake* bird. The feathers were placed on the stern side of each lashing, and were held in place by the two or three rearmost loops, their inner ends resting directly upon the strip.

The temporary decorations in most general use consisted of coconut fronds which were placed along the sides of the bow and stern platforms with their lower edges trailing in the water. According to one informant they were also placed along the sides of the canoe, but no mention of this is made by early writers. Stewart (59, p. 244) says that in the large canoe seen by him "between the figure head and the bow, three green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly." Porter (49, p. 102) says: "The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth."

Porter (op. cit.) says that the bow was ornamented with pearl shells strung on coconut branches.

Two cords were run from the rear corners of the stern platform to the tip of the stern piece, these cords being decorated with tufts of human hair and *pava-hina* (ornaments made from white beards). These cords are still present in one of the old models, attached to the ends of long poles projecting from the stern platform. It seems probable that long tapa streamers were also attached to the stern piece, as several of the models are decorated in this way.

Stewart (59, p. 327) says: "A skull was lashed on each corner of the platform elevated at the stern." According to an old informant, the bodies of any enemies killed during a raid were laid across the neck of the bow piece during the homeward voyage.

HANDLING OF THE CANOES

According to informants the large war canoes were never sailed, but small canoes and double canoes, made from two craft of this type lashed together, were sometimes sailed. The paddlers sat two on a seat and paddled rhythmically, usually chanting in time to the strokes. The steersman sat on the raised stern platform, using a long paddle of ordinary Marquesan form. According to one informant there were two steersmen, one on either side. Porter (49, p. 102) says of these craft: "They are not so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease," and all the early accounts agree that they were rather poorly handled.

SPECIAL TYPES OF CANOES

Mention has been made of double canoes, but according to all the information obtained by the author these were simply canoes of the built up type which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

coconut fiber cord. to which tufts of white beard are attached at irregular intervals.

An example of a chief's son's scepter (*kouvai*) (Pl. LXIX, *G*) was obtained from a burial cave in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. According to informants a *kouvai* was made for the son of a chief at the time a new house was built for him. It was thrust into the thatch and left there, and was never carried or used. Elaborately carved clubs resembling the *uu*, but degenerate in form, are still made by the natives and sold as chiefs' scepters or insignia, but it seems doubtful whether the form is an ancient one.

The staffs carried by chiefs and persons of importance were made of *toa* wood, with a shaft diameter of ¾ to 1¼ inches and a length varying from 5 to 10 feet. They were rarely carved, but a specimen in the Bishop Museum bears two pairs of small tiki figures carved upon the shaft at considerable intervals. The lower end was flattened and expanded to form a narrow flat edged blade, the amount of this expansion being highly variable (Pl. LXIX, *F*). One specimen in the Salem Museum is really a narrow paddle club.

The upper end of the staff was decorated with a band of woven coconut fiber and terminated in a pompom of human hair which was attached as follows (Pl. LXIX, *C*): The tip of the shaft was carved into a projecting pin about 1½ inches long. The hair, in the form of small locks attached to coconut fiber cords, was then applied piece by piece, the cords being tightly interwoven about the pin. In one specimen in the Salem Museum a tress of white beard is attached to the tip of this braiding. The sleeve of coconut fiber enclosing the upper end of the shaft consisted of a weft of single fibers applied upon a longitudinal warp of thin cords of plaited fiber in a very close wrap weave. This sleeve was usually decorated with simple designs produced by variations in the weaving or with geometric figures in black produced by embroidery in human hair. The technique of this embroidery is rather interesting, a warp strand being detached from the fabric and wrapped closely with the hair, then re-incorporated. The figures are as a rule large and simple.

It was not determined whether or not these staffs were over used as weapons.

The only Marquesan weapon suitable for close combat was the *ake henua* which, according to Handy, was a double pointed spike of *toa* wood having about the center a loop of cord through which the wearer's wrist was passed. This weapon was carried only by *toa* or great warriors. It is said sometimes to have been thrown.

HEAD TROPHIES

Marquesan warriors preserved and elaborately decorated the heads of slain enemies, although no trace of these trophies was found either in the Marquesas or in American museums. What appears to be an accurate description is given by Desgraz (15, pp. 296-298). He says:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 . . . bony skull, the lower jaw of which is firmly held in place by small plaited strings, very fine and very well arranged around the articulation. These are united by another larger and stronger plait which is prolonged in front of the incisor teeth of the two mandibles and posses under the chin and ends at the nodes behind the arch of the palate. At either side of the dental arch a large and strong wild pig tusk is fastened by these plaits to the bone of the cheek so that it appears to spring from the mouth of the individual in the same manner that it sprang from the mouth of the animal to which it belonged. A piece of hard wood, roughly carved, fills the anterior opening of the nasal fossa and more or less represents an abnormal nose. The eyes are imitated by large pieces of pearl shell fitted into the orbits [of the skull]. A small round piece of tortoise shell serves in place of pupil and a few hairs placed between the shell and the orbit represent the lashes of this lustrous eye. Finally, to complete this hideous assemblage, a few tresses of the vanquished one's hair are attached to the lower jaw by way of a beard and hang down below the chin.

Radiguet (52, p. 67) gives a description of such a prepared head which he found in a hole in one of the *me'ae*, as follows:

. . . human skull whose orbits were filled with brilliant disks of pearl shell, flat, and as large as a five franc piece. A hole pierced through the middle showed black in guise of a pupil. A piece of pointed wood filled the nasal cavity. Two teeth, long and menacing, had been driven into the alveolus of the canines. Finally, cords of coconut fiber attached to the maxilaries numerous tufts of hair disposed as a beard and to the ears oval wooden plaques whitened with chalk. The lower jaw was lacking.

A crude drawing of a head trophy of this type appears in one of Langsdorff's illustrations (38, p. 118).

The prospectus of Von den Steinen's forthcoming book on Marquesan art contains an illustration of a human skull covered with painted tapa, but it differs entirely from the trophies just described and was probably a religious object. The paintings upon it apparently represent facial tattooing.

COMPARISONS

411 171 The use of slings, with or without specially prepared stones is almost universal in Polynesia and Micronesia, with a scattering use in Melanesia. In New Zealand the sling appears to have been obsolecent, being regularly used only by the Urewera tribe (Tregear, 82, pp. 314-15), and prepared sling stones seem to have been unknown. In the Society Islands (Ellis, 71, p. 290) and in Samoa and Tonga prepared stones do not appear to have been used although the sling was important. In Hawaii and the Maquesas oval or bluntly double conical stones appear to have been normally used. In Micronesia the use of specially prepared sling stones seems to have been universal. The Micronesian specimens are easily distinguishable from those of either Hawaii or the Marquesas because of their greater length and smaller proportional diameter. Some of them are almost cigar shaped.

It is not possible to get exact information as to the type of sling used in Samoa and Tonga. In Tonga the bow and arrow was the important missile.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close: but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
>
> The *pahhe* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.) [291]

Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

War

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior 727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his vic- 301 tim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special 722 house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

712 622 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case 727 266 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. [411] Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

[628] [302] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for 729 266 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive groups, but both women and children participated in the cannibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane,* corresponding to our concept of the astral